

Although China has made great progress in eliminating poverty, it still faces a very heavy task in the years to come. Our objective is to enable the people of the whole country to live a fairly comfortable life and to have basically eliminated absolute poverty throughout China by the year 2,000. To achieve this objective, the Chinese Government is implementing a national programme of providing adequate food, clothing and shelter by the year 2,000 for the 80 million Chinese who are still in poverty. A large-scale campaign against poverty is now unfolding on the vast land of China.

Mr. Chairman,

To reduce and eliminate poverty, to improve the quality of life and to enable every member of the society to enjoy the rights for life, employment and education is both an important objective in the progress of human society and a common cause of the people of all countries. To promote the noble cause of enabling the over 1 billion people of the world who are still in poverty to get rid of their present difficult situation at an early date, the Chinese Government would like to put forward the following basic points:

Elimination of poverty is a requirement of guarantee for the right to subsistence. To satisfy the basic subsistence needs for food, clothing, housing and other means of living is the most fundamental right of man. To guarantee the right to subsistence is a precondition for any other rights. It is, no doubt, a correct choice for the governments of all countries, especially the developing countries, to make economic development their central task and to reduce and ultimately eliminate poverty to guarantee this fundamental right by increasing productive employment and the income of their citizens. No country should interfere in such a choice under any pretext.

The way to eliminate poverty is economic development. The scientific and technological advances in modern times have provided broad scope for the development of productive forces. Protracted underdevelopment in poor areas are often attributable to insufficient education and scientific and technological expertise and low level in the exploitation and utilization of natural resources. Developing education is therefore a starting point of the work of poverty elimination. It becomes necessary to improve the level of education and technology of the poor people and work out ways to develop local economy. It should be pointed out that because of the great difference in their national situations, various countries naturally take different roads of development. Only by

proceeding from its actual national conditions can a country find a correct way to develop its economy, eradicate poverty and achieve prosperity.

Elimination of poverty needs organization and help by government. Poverty-ridden areas are often those places with poor transportation facilities, unfavourable natural conditions and backward social development. To change the situation calls for a strong leading role by the government in organizing the people to rely on their collective force to change the basic productive and living conditions. At the same time, the government must offer necessary financial and material assistance and provide necessary human resources and information. Actions must be taken in a planned and coordinated manner.

Elimination of poverty needs international cooperation. Every country has its strong points and advantages. Greater cooperation in bilateral and multi-lateral field on the basis of equality and mutual benefit is conducive to common economic and social development. A key area in strengthening international cooperation is transfer of financial resources and technology and opening up markets, which will help the developing countries rejuvenate their economy and reduce and eradicate poverty. The United Nations and its related agencies as well as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have played and should continue to play a positive role in assisting the developing countries in getting rid of poverty and promoting the economic and social development of various countries.

Elimination of poverty calls for more contribution from the developed countries. At present, the developing countries have large number of poverty population and the gap between the North and the South is widening. There are many reasons for this. But one of the most important ones is that the developing countries have long been in a disadvantageous position in world trade and economic relations. The developed countries should undertake more obligations in eliminating poverty worldwide. The economies of the world are interdependent. Reducing the poverty population of the developing countries, improving their level of income and increasing the imports and exports of these countries will all benefit the economic development of the developed countries. The transfer of science and technology from the developed to the developing countries should be carried out in a faster pace so that more people can share the benefits to mankind brought about by scientific and technological progress. Greater scope should be given to the role of science and technology in eliminating poverty. The scientific and technological expertise that can be used to meet the basic needs of the

mankind and that promotes social progress should be disseminated at preferential price as soon as possible.

Mr. Chairman,

Poverty alleviation in China whose population which accounts for one fifth of the mankind is an important part of the international effort to combat poverty. The Chinese Government stands ready to continue strengthening its cooperation with international organizations in development-oriented poverty alleviation. For many years, China's effort for poverty alleviation and economic and social development has benefited from the assistance by the UNDP, FAO, UNESCO, WHO, UNFPA, UNICEF, ILO, World Bank and other international organizations. I would like to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to them on behalf of the Chinese Government.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.



World Summit for Social Development
Copenhagen, Denmark March 6-12, 1995
United States Delegation

REMARKS OF MADELEINE KUNIN, U.S. DEPUTY SECRETARY OF EDUCATION
AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF
THE WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
MARCH 8, 1995
COPENHAGEN, DENMARK

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is a privilege to be here at this historic conference, on this day as the Deputy Secretary of the United States Department of Education and as the former Governor of the State of Vermont.

Significantly, International Women's Day is being celebrated here at this gathering -- a powerful reminder that poverty will not disappear until women throughout the world are equal citizens in every respect -- social, political and economic.

Ensuring full participation for all women is important in its own right and is in the interest of a host of world objectives -- peace, prosperity, equality and environmental protection. Without equality for all women -- rich and poor, young and old, disabled and not -- we not only lose the battle for equal opportunity, we jeopardize national and international security.

In the aftermath of the Cold War, national security is understood in human terms. Human security is about the 1.3 billion people who live in absolute poverty and the 800 million who go hungry each day. It is about the 17 million who die every year from easily preventable illnesses. At least 70 percent of those living their lives in such deprivation are women.

Sustainable development must be at the forefront of our efforts in the new millennium. This critical concept -- launched at the Earth Summit in Rio -- is the foundation for this Summit's ambitious agenda of job creation, poverty eradication, environmental protection, and strengthening communities through social integration.

Here in Copenhagen, we must reaffirm the commitments made at the Earth Summit in Rio, the Human Rights Conference in Vienna, the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo

to build economies which meet the needs of our generation without compromising or short-changing future generations. We must again commit ourselves to recognizing and pursuing the mutually reinforcing goals of sustainable development: economic, environmental and social progress and we must invest in women as a critical element in this process.

Our task here in Copenhagen has been made easier by the labors of our predecessors, just as our work will pave the way for our successors at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing next September.

Fortunately, at each step along the way, we have been and will continue to be bolstered by the growing role and importance of the non-governmental community. The extent to which "people power" now drives the UN process is impressive. We are in the midst of profound change and are witnessing an extraordinary merger: grassroots, community-based organizations, multilateral and international institutions and governments are coming together in common cause. The great global challenges of our times — pollution, political instability, poverty, drugs, and crime — respect no borders and their solution is a responsibility shared by all. NGOs — particularly women's NGOs—all over the world have found their diverse voices and are seizing the opportunity to help build their own destinies. We welcome them as innovators, facilitators and implementors of the sustainable development agenda.

We need their strength and energy, and they need an efficient, effective organization, ready to work and ready for action. That is why the United Nations must continue to reform itself. The Social Summit can help move forward the process of much-needed reform of the UN's Economic and Social Council. Over the past five years, the international community has set an ambitious series of goals for the United Nations. The United States agrees with the Secretary General that we must now prioritize and implement this agenda.

Let us move, here in Copenhagen, beyond rhetoric to reality. In line with that goal, the United States believes that this Summit will have concrete, practical value if it accomplishes three things:

First, we must advance the global discussion on employment and adherence to basic labor standards, such as banning child and forced labor; ensuring freedom of association and the right to organize and bargain collectively. We must also broaden our discussion to

include the chronically unemployed and underemployed, particularly people with disabilities, most of whom are without work today.

Second, we must foster an environment that enables all individuals to better become agents of global progress. In particular, women's capacity to exercise equal political power must be promoted at every level. Addressing the specific needs of women related to education, economic participation, population, health, nutrition, democracy and governance and the environment will result in benefits not only for women, but also for their children.

And third, we must reinforce and strengthen the global resolve to eliminate absolute poverty, to give all individuals the opportunity to realize their potential. As we know too well, the face of the poor too often is the face of women and children.

The tools to eradicate poverty are at hand. We know what they are and how they work. They are universal access to basic health services and universal basic education. The World Health Organization (WHO) and UNICEF have mapped the steps we need to take to improve people's health--steps which would end unimaginable suffering. The elimination of the four major vaccine-preventable diseases, iodine deficiency and vitamin a deficiency, and making oral rehydration therapy globally available remain a priority. We must also focus on providing reproductive health services, including family planning. We must ensure safe drinking water and sanitation.

We believe that the most transforming investment that a country can make is in universal primary education and, most especially, in the education of girls, including girls with disabilities. For every society, education has been the ladder propped up against the wall, enabling each individual to climb, one rung at a time, out of poverty, toward new heights -- fulfilling the dream of personal enrichment, a healthy family and a secure old age.

Education has had great powers of transformation throughout history.

Without access to an excellent education, few of us would be at this Summit today. I, like many of you, am the first person in my family to graduate from college. But my enthusiasm for investment in the education of girls and women is based on more than personal experience. It is based on the evidence. A greater and more equal global investment in educating both girls and boys is not only humane, it makes very sound economic sense. It is a better

investment, some economists argue, than building dams to generate electric power, or even highways to transport goods and people. The former World Bank economist has concluded that educating girls may yield a higher rate of return than any other investment in the developing world.

Empowering women, providing universal basic education and access to basic health services — all of this is affordable and achievable by early in the next century. Because it can be done, it must be done.

The issues that this Summit is addressing are vitally important and fundamentally relevant to every country on earth — including my own. The problems my country faces — unemployment, crime, drugs, poverty and environmental degradation — are similar to those faced by others. As our world becomes more closely linked, so do our problems, which is why we come here to chart a course for action. President Clinton's long-stated goal has been to "put people first" -- the people of the United States are our greatest resource. The Federal Government is working in concert with state and local governments, communities and NGOs to improve life for all our people. The best of these actions draws on the wisdom of the communities themselves.

Together, we are striving to define actions that give all individuals the opportunity to provide for themselves and their families. Today, on International Women's Day, let us reaffirm our commitment to the creation of a more equitable and just global community that works for the full equality of women in every aspect-- political, social and economic. When women have achieved that status all of humanity will benefit.

Thank you.

JAPAN

NEWS
FACTS
BACKGROUND

Press Release

March 10, 1995

(Please Check Against Delivery)

Statement by
Ambassador Hisashi Owada
Permanent Representative
of Japan
to the United Nations

at

The World Summit
for Social Development

Bella Center, Copenhagen

March 10, 1995

Statement by Ambassador Hisashi Owada
Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations
at the World Summit for Social Development

Mr. Chairman,

At the outset, I should like to thank the Government and the people of Denmark for hosting this World Summit for Social Development. I should also like to pay tribute to Ambassador Somavia, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee of the Summit, the United Nations Secretariat, and all others who have participated in and contributed to the preparation of this Summit. Permit me also to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude for the kind sympathy and assistance extended to the Japanese people by the International community in the wake of the calamity that hit the Hanshin-Awaji region of Japan two months ago.

Mr. Chairman,

Sound economic growth can only be attained on the basis of progress in social development. With that clear recognition in mind, we, the humanity, will have to tackle the three basic issues on which the Summit has chosen to focus its attention, namely, "eradication of poverty", "expansion of productive employment" and "social integration", as the challenges confronting us all on our way to the attainment of social justice, which is the essence of social development. The draft Declaration which the Heads of State and Government are going to adopt at this Summit acknowledges that, today, more than one billion people are living in poverty, over 120 million people are unemployed, and a great number of disadvantaged people are excluded from society. Throughout the preparatory process of the present Summit, Japan has maintained the view, which is now incorporated in the draft Declaration, that these three basic issues are closely interrelated. If we cannot devise measures to cope effectively with one issue, it will adversely affect the solution of the other two, with the result that none of them will be solved. Each country needs to formulate and implement comprehensive and effective policies, based on the clear recognition of this interrelationship. My delegation attaches great significance to this Summit which brings together Heads of State and Government to acknowledge the importance of social development, and to reaffirm the need to promote national efforts as well as international cooperation in support of those efforts.

Mr. Chairman,

In my intervention today, I should like to focus my remarks on the theme of social integration, one of the three basic themes of this Summit. The achievement of social integration is important, not only from the viewpoint that each citizen should be given the opportunity to make the most of his or her potential; it is also important from the viewpoint that the participation of citizens, who have an indispensable role to play

in following up this Summit, should be secured.

Social integration requires that Governments take policies which are based on the principles of nondiscrimination, tolerance, equality and justice; which respond to the special needs of youth, persons with disabilities, the elderly and minorities; and which enable each and every citizen, through their ability and experience, to contribute actively to society, without being alienated in society. Respect for basic human rights and the empowerment of people are essential to social integration; the quality of governance, in terms of adherence to democracy and maintenance of our administration with transparency and accountability, is also of great importance to the promotion of social integration. On the international scene, we are encouraged to witness such developments as the abolition of apartheid and the increasing acceptance of basic human rights as a universal value. Regrettably, however, on the national front, both in developed and in developing areas, we note persistent cases of alienation in society of the socially disadvantaged. It is in this context that I note with particular attention the point made by President Suharto of Indonesia at the Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in 1992. He stated: "Ultimately, the purpose of development is the achievement by the human being of his fullest potential in a manner that is in harmony, in congruence and in a proper balance with his environment. This means that national development must be people-centered." I wholeheartedly agree with this philosophy. What I should like to emphasize is that the problem of economic development cannot be properly addressed without the progress in social development and that one of the most important tasks for social development is how to mobilize all resources available within society on the basis of this philosophy of people-centered development, so that we may gather all forces of society towards the efforts for the society-building and for the nation-building. Social integration lies at the very core of such a process.

Mr. Chairman,

As many governments stated on the occasion of International Women's Day on March 8, it is necessary to foster an environment in which women, who account for more than half of the world's population, are empowered and provided with opportunities to demonstrate fully their abilities. Japan is still confronted with various problems relating to women, specifically in the areas of women's representation in the decision-making process, where it is lagging behind, and women's burden in household chores, child rearing and the care of the elderly, where it still has a long way to go. Against that background, we in Japan are striving to create a society in which both men and women participate in and contribute to all areas in support of social progress.

Mr. Chairman,

In the field of social integration, it is important to establish a mechanism in which citizens, individually and through NGOs, can participate in the policy-making process. With this

consideration in mind, Japan has been implementing a variety of measures. In behalf of persons with disabilities, Japan aims at establishing a welfare-oriented society that is full of vitality, by taking comprehensive measures including measures in the areas of health-care and welfare, as well as measures to promote self-reliance, social integration, and furtherance of employment. Furthermore, in Japan, where life expectancy is more than eighty years of age, it is important to foster an environment in which older persons can actively participate in society, putting their accumulated wisdom and experience to good use. It is necessary to forge a multifaceted system aimed at their active participation in society which provides opportunities for employment and encourages them to take part in community activities. To meet the needs of those older persons who require nursing care, Japan intends to expand such services.

Mr. Chairman,

As the world's leading donor country, Japan has extended considerable assistance to the social development of many developing countries. In 1993, the official development assistance of Japan provided for the purpose of social development including education, health, and sanitation accounted for about 20 percent of the world's total assistance designated to these areas. Japan intends to continue to give priority to this field. The promotion of social integration requires the active participation of local communities in the development process and activities at the grass-roots level. As part of its efforts in these areas, Japan is offering assistance to activities of NGOs and local governments. Furthermore, in order to encourage the integration in society of disadvantaged people, Japan is actively engaged in providing assistance to developing countries in support of persons with disabilities, the elderly and minorities, and is also extending cooperation for child health-care.

Mr. Chairman,

Lastly, I should like to emphasize the importance of effective follow-up efforts to ensure the success of this Summit. Needless to say, the primary responsibility for social development lies with each government; the Programme of Action thus asks governments to implement policies on a wide range of social issues. Japan notes with particular interest that the Programme of Action prescribes the formulation or strengthening of strategies to eradicate absolute poverty as we approach 1996, the International Year for Eradication of Poverty. It is also noteworthy that a paragraph has been included in the Programme of Action agreeing on a mutual commitment between interested developed and developing countries to allocate on average 20% of ODA and 20% of the national budget respectively to basic social programmes. While past international conferences relating to development have tended to concentrate on the issue of resources, this Summit has succeeded in establishing the basic concepts of social development and in securing constructive commitments of the participant countries. In this sense, this Summit is indeed

an epoch-making event and deserves our praise. It is of utmost importance that through the efforts of every country these commitments are translated into action. Japan, for her part, intends to work toward this goal to the best of her ability.

Mr. Chairman,

I believe that this year, which marks the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, offers us an opportunity to undertake reforms in the United Nations system to enable it to better respond to changes in the international community. Japan is of the view that social development should be advanced by each of the organizations within the United Nations system through the implementation of the Programme of Action in accordance with its specific mandate and at the same time through reinforced coordination among the organizations concerned. In particular, it is important to take the opportunity provided by this Summit to consider reforms in the Economic and Social Council with the aim of strengthening UN activities in the economic and social fields. It is particularly important that we strengthen the functions of the Commission for Social Development, so that it may act as one of the central organs for following up this Summit. In addition, the consolidation of substantive dialogue between on the one hand the various organs of the United Nations system working in this field and on the other such international organizations as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank---and particularly the reinforcement of cooperation among them at the field-level---would be an effective means of enhancing multilateral assistance. Within the United Nations system, we expect the International Labor Organization, in view of its tripartite structure comprising government, workers and employers, to play a major role through its experience and expertise in the field of social development.

Mr. Chairman,

While there is no easy solution to the problems of poverty, unemployment and the exclusion of the socially disadvantaged, it is my belief that, with the collective wisdom of the more than one hundred Heads of State and Government who have gathered here, our task is not impossible. What is important is that we uphold the spirit of this Summit, namely, that social justice, or equity for everyone, should be our ultimate goal. If we persevere in our efforts to promote social development along with economic development, I am convinced that this Summit will be remembered by future generations as the "Summit of Hope."

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5. 유엔사무총장 및 주요 각국정상 연설문



THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

WORLD SUMMIT
FOR SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT

Copenhagen
Denmark
6-12 March 1995



CAUTION: EMBARGOED TEXT

Not for use before 8:40 a.m. (GMT)
(9:40 a.m., local time)

Saturday, 11 March

Check against delivery

SOC/COP/SG/6

11 March 1995

**POTENTIAL FOR COOPERATION TO SOLVE WORLD'S SOCIAL ILLS HAS NEVER
BEEN GREATER, SECRETARY-GENERAL DECLARES AT SUMMIT MEETING**

**For First Time in History, World Leaders Gathered in Copenhagen Are
Told, All Nations Share Concerns of Poverty, Jobs, Social Disintegration**

Following is the text of the address by United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to be delivered today to the Summit meeting in Copenhagen of Heads of State and Government at the World Summit for Social Development:

Your presence here demonstrates your commitment to social development. Never before have so many world leaders come together for such a purpose -- to fight poverty, to create productive jobs, and to strengthen the social fabric.

It is not a coincidence that this Summit is held in Copenhagen, for our host country is renowned, not only for its humanistic and democratic traditions, but also for its generous policies of international assistance.

May I, on behalf of all the participants in the Summit, express our profound gratitude to the people and the Government of Denmark.

The people of the world who live in poverty, whose daily work is simply to survive, and who conduct their lives in a scene of chaos -- these people know why you are here.

But those whose lives are productive, well-rewarded and conducted with optimism must also understand why you have come to Copenhagen.

The acute social ills of today -- crime, drugs, disease, disaffection, urban decay and declining standards in education -- all have social origins and social consequences for human security in its largest sense.

(more)

Department of Public Information
For information media—not an official record

These social problems, which once could be confined within borders, now spread across the world. Once considered to be the exclusive responsibility of national governments, these problems are now of global scale and require global attention.

This is the moment to meet and to act. The world has embraced the market economy with its boundless potential. Brilliant examples of countries emerging in full development stand before our eyes. At the same time, however, there has come a recognition that the very poorest countries cannot follow that model until they possess foundations that can only be built with help from others. In many societies, clean water, sanitation, basic education and health, the rule of law and human rights cannot be brought into being by policy decisions alone.

Now is the time to act because the potential for cooperation has never been greater. The east-west divide has disappeared, and the north-south confrontation is gradually giving way to a more global approach. The new economic and social challenge is not confrontation but divergence -- the widening divide between those who can make it on their own and those who cannot and will need the cooperation of the international community.

And now is the time to act because no economy today -- developing, transitional, or developed -- can escape the problems of social development. For the first time in history every country shares a set of concerns about poverty, jobs, and social disintegration.

Thus, new forms of global conciliation and mutual progress are now necessary and possible.

Without social development, whole societies will be left by the wayside. Without social development, the marvels of technology may be seen by millions of the unemployed as instruments of oppression. Without social development, economic progress will be perceived as a cruel irony by those who are afflicted by poverty and social exclusion.

In my opening statement before the Summit, I stressed the need for a new social contract at the global level. In law, a contract is often described as having both a spirit and a letter. The spirit of the Summit's agenda is one which must, above all, reflect a sense of solidarity within nations and between nations. Such a sense of solidarity cannot permit those who are privileged to ignore those who are poor, vulnerable or disadvantaged.

The letter of the social contract involves stipulations which engage the parties. The commitments reflected in the Summit Declaration, which we will adopt, will engage us in a Programme of Action. Your presence here gives immense political weight to the Summit's outcome. Your participation not only symbolizes the seriousness of what is at stake, it also is the best guarantee that the follow-up to the Summit will yield concrete results.

The high hopes riding on this Summit must be met. With a will to transcend our differences and work together for the common good, success will come, but true and lasting success can only be achieved through patient and deliberate efforts by all concerned, day after day. It will require a coalition of all societal actors, working together towards the same objectives. Governments will need to act in partnership. They will need to join hands with experts, parliamentarians, grass root and religious organizations, trade unions, community associations, businesses, scientists and non-governmental organizations, all of whose talent and enthusiasm have already added so much to the cause.

(more)

Together we must continue our collective efforts in the post-Summit era to help shape a better common future for all nations, communities and people.

For my part, I pledge my own complete dedication to helping achieve the Summit's ideals and to making the United Nations an effective instrument for the implementation of its results.

Faithful to the goals of our Charter, we work for the welfare of the human person. Faithful to the trust of nations, we build peace and development. Faithful to the interests of generations to come, we are, together, building a world where all will say, with pride: We belong.

* * * * *

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Welcoming statement by H.E. Mr. Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, Prime Minister of Denmark, President of the Summit

Your Majesties, Excellencies, Mr. Secretary General, ladies and gentlemen,

On behalf of the Government and people of Denmark, I extend my warmest welcome to Heads of State and Government to the World Summit for Social Development.

Social development is fundamental to everybody - just like peace and security. They are two sides of the same coin.

It is gratifying - but also necessary - that so many Heads of State and Government have taken the time to attend this Summit.

Your experience and personal commitment is a precondition for the success of the Summit and the sustainability of its outcome.

Social rights and duties are not written in the stars but belong on the Earth. We therefore need to make a common and global framework for social development.

For the first time Heads of State and Government are gathered to recognize the true significance of human well-being.

We are ready to adopt a realistic and promising Summit Declaration.

We are ready to commit ourselves to decisions and actions for social development throughout the world.

We must commit ourselves because we are living in a world of unacceptable contradictions.

Prosperity is growing for some. But at the same time we see unspeakable poverty for others.

Global wealth has multiplied sevenfold in the past 50 years. Life expectancy, literacy and primary education have increased. But these changes have been accompanied by intensified poverty, unemployment and social dislocation.

Greatly increased trade, investments and technological developments open new opportunities for growth and development. Democratic pluralism and fundamental civil

liberties have expanded. Apartheid has finally been eliminated.

But on the other hand we know that only a fraction of military spending in our countries could provide primary health care for everybody in the developing countries.

Since 1980 total world production has grown by nearly 50 per cent. But at the same time production per capita actually fell in many developing countries.

These contradictions must be corrected.

We are not gathered here to make yesterday's policies catch up with tomorrow's agenda.

We are gathered at this Summit to commit ourselves to the goals and principles for true human societies.

We are faced with the need to change the course of history.

We, as Heads of State and Government, must secure that our societies respond more effectively to the needs of people.

By joint action we must contribute to efforts by national governments to design policies for the mobilization of human resources for development.

Let us strive to fulfil the target of 0.7 per cent for overall official development assistance as soon as possible.

Let us strive to ensure that developed and developing countries allocate a higher percentage of assistance and national budgets to social programmes.

Your Majesties, Excellencies,

As Heads of State and Government we must provide global leadership in a world with a common destiny. It is our obligation to take care of global development, its opportunities and threats.

This Summit is a milestone in the history of the United Nations. This Summit is a challenge for the organization. We have a unique possibility to fulfil the vision of its founders if we turn the Declaration of this Summit into action.

It is essential that each of our governments, parliaments and the civil society follow up the political commitments at the national level.

We must encourage people - including the NGOs - to remain partners and active participants in the ongoing process. We can not make a better future without the cooperation of the NGOs. Side by side we make a strong alliance.

At the international level, we need to make better use of the United Nations and other multilateral institutions.

Your Majesties, Excellencies,

The credibility of this Summit depends on the years to come.

Allow me therefore to make two appeals:

Firstly, let us in the months to come make concrete agreements on the cancellation of bilateral debt. Debt-relief is of huge importance for the poorest countries. To give this relief should be affordable for the rich world. But we must also collectively address the problems of multilateral debt.

On the other hand we must ensure that this relief is used for the benefit of social improvement for the poorest people. Let us hereby improve people's basic needs such as health, pure drinking water, housing, education, jobs and equal opportunities for women and men.

Secondly, let us assure each other that we shall use our resources to implement our commitments - also in the so-called rich countries.

We have learned that economic growth does not in itself protect us against marginalization and social problems. Political determination is also called for here.

Let us give the people of the Earth a decent life.

We have the tools. Let us use them.

Thank you.



World Summit for Social Development
Copenhagen, Denmark March 6-12, 1995
United States Delegation

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT AL GORE
AT THE UN WORLD SUMMIT
FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
MARCH 12, 1995
COPENHAGEN, DENMARK

[Text as delivered]

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Mr. Secretary General, Ladies and Gentlemen. It is an honor to represent President Clinton and the American people at this important summit meeting. I wish to begin by thanking our Danish hosts for their skill and their great hospitality. At a time of great opportunity and yet considerable uncertainty within the international community, we welcome this occasion to address issues that are common to all nations and to all peoples.

A century notable for its turmoil and suffering is drawing to an end. Looking at its many tragedies, it would be understandable to view the future with some cynicism. My country, however, as always retains its optimistic vision.

We believe in a world organized by law rather than by violence; we believe in a world based on justice; we believe in the defeat of intolerance by the steady ascendancy of our common humanity. We believe above all in freedom -- political and spiritual freedom -- as a birthright of human kind, and freedom from want as a goal by which we measure the quality of our civilization.

Are these hopes impractical? On the contrary. Over time they have emerged with ever greater clarity as the common aspiration of humankind. It seems to me, in fact, that this series of great UN global conferences represents an effort by the entire world to think through the principles and the practical requirements for the creation of that kind of world.

These meetings -- most recently in Rio, Vienna, Cairo, Copenhagen, and in the fall, Beijing -- have focused on a set of interlocking questions. What is the proper relationship between human civilization and the earth's environment? What can be done to create just societies that nurture the human spirit and protect human rights? What can be done by democratic means to protect our world from the consequences of rapid and destabilizing population growth and create instead an equitable pattern of sustainable development? What can be done to lift the poorest of our citizens into productive lives? What can be done to remove the barriers not blocking the full empowerment of women throughout the world?

These gatherings are town meetings of the globe where individual citizens, non-governmental organizations, and governments are working together to hammer out a new consensus on the nature of the challenges we face and how we can rise to meet them successfully.

We have gathered here to deal with the issues of poverty, disability, unemployment, and social disintegration. These problems exist in varying degrees in all countries represented here, including certainly my own country. The numbers that characterize these problems are staggering: one billion people live in absolute poverty without access to clean water, proper sanitation, or decent nutrition; 30 percent of the global labor force is now unemployed or underemployed; in what has been called the worst employment crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s: one billion people have daily incomes totaling less than one dollar.

But as the novelist Arthur Koestler once said, statistics do not bleed.: Numbers do not capture the anguish of homeless children roaming the streets of otherwise prosperous and bustling cities. They don't capture the grief of a parent whose child has starved to death or died of disease during the horrific events in Rwanda. Nor do they capture the bleak despair of a homeless woman, curling up to sleep over a steam grate in Washington, DC, blocks from the White House.

These are personal tragedies, but each results in part from our failure as a human family to feel and understand our connections to one another, and our failure to appreciate the opportunity every person should have to contribute to and enrich our common future.

Economic growth cannot be sustained over time unless a proper portion of its present fruits are continually invested in the nourishing and development of human potential. Even Adam Smith always referred to economics as "human economics." Maybe we should have never abbreviated the concept. People who are sick, or uneducated, or undernourished, or unemployed should not be merely the objects of society's guilty conscience. They should also be seen as the embodiment of unrealized economic and social potential.

How should we deal with these issues? In my country that question is presently the subject of an intense political struggle. What is being tested is whether the United States will turn away from our own most disadvantaged citizens at home, and whether we will step back from the front ranks of nations that recognize a bond of shared responsibility toward men and women elsewhere in the world who are struggling to climb by their own efforts out of degradation and despair.

I believe that at the end of the day, the United States will not step back. The Clinton Administration believes that in its commitment to remain engaged, we have the support of the vast majority of the American people in both of our major political parties.

The American people know that our future well-being is tied inextricably to the global economy. And they know that helping to develop the economies of the developing world, where four out of five people will live by the year 2000, will be beneficial to our own economy as well. But, I also believe that if the United States is to move forward, and remain engaged in the world's effort to meet the objectives of this Summit, we must find new approaches for new circumstances.

For example, we in the United States have come to recognize that it is time to abandon our old model for combating poverty at home based on heavy government intervention through massive bureaucracies.

There was a time when these structures seemed essential to make our idealism productive. But their size, inflexibility and expense are now seen as obstacles to the purpose we still pursue.

We are working now to create a more vital relationship between the government and the people. We cannot succeed if we treat the poor solely as passive recipients of assistance -- whether for welfare, food stamps or medical care. We are instead designing an approach that empowers people to be active partners in the management of their own fates. We have to find new links to our own people -- with a government that worked better and costs less, and focuses on results.

We have to find ways to transcend old and limiting concepts, and recognize the value of new ways to promote sustainable development and social progress for those trapped in poverty-- such as government/private sector partnerships, technical assistance for institutional development and policy reform; and support for South-South partnerships. International institutions also need to adjust themselves by moving toward greater flexibility and responsiveness to the needs of the poor. This conference has paid very useful attention to the UN system in particular, and I applaud its efforts to focus on the need for change.

We in the United States have also approached this Summit as an opportunity for constructive change. Abroad as at home, we know that we have to redefine the way we fight poverty and transform the relationship between donors and recipients to a relationship between partners.

It is in that spirit that I am pleased to announce today the United States "New Partnership Initiative". Under this initiative, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) will be channeling 40% of its development assistance through non-governmental organizations (NGOs), both US-based and indigenous.

The "New Partnerships Initiative" has three main objectives: to empower small business and entrepreneurs to drive economic growth; to straighten the role of nongovernmental organizations in development program; and to help nations bolster democracy at the local level. All three are linked by a single idea -- that families and individuals, when given the power and opportunity to change their lives, will do exactly that.

In discussing ways to improve the struggle against poverty being waged by governments, I wish to make it clear that my country also believes in two other central propositions.

First, we believe that permanent gains can occur only if we encourage free markets and individual initiative. In our view, the market system unlocks a higher fraction of the human potential than any other form of economic organization, and has the demonstrated potential to create broadly distributed new wealth.

Second, we believe that economic development can be and must be designed to be environmentally sustainable. Sustainable economic development assures that we do not meet today's needs by means that very quickly exhaust themselves and deliver us back to even more intractable problems.

Finally, let me emphasize the importance of one cultural trend that can speed the day that we see and end to poverty: an increase in the rights and powers of women, who, as the First Lady of the United States pointed out here a few days ago, "continue to be marginalized in many countries." With women making up more than two-thirds of the illiterate people of the world, investing in the health and education of women and girls will diminish poverty -- and let me add my voice to those applauding this Summit for endorsing the principle of equal rights.

The documents you have developed here are part of an emerging grand design for the common good. Despite the difficulties and severe challenges ahead, I believe that we are moving together toward a shared sense of participation in a global civilization, whose bonds, though voluntary, will be strong enough to hold us together in the face of those forces which would divide us. Our work is a very significant contribution to that end, and on behalf of my government, and the people of the United States, I wish to applaud the work of this Summit and our deep and constant commitment to these goals.

The New Partnerships Initiative

Strengthening Grassroots Political
and Economic Institutions

The diverse challenges of the post-Cold War period demand that we take innovative and dramatically different approaches to achieving U.S. foreign policy goals. The Clinton Administration's "New Partnerships Initiative," through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), will strengthen social, economic and political decision-making in the developing world where it is most vital -- at the community level. The "New Partnerships Initiative" is the very opposite of the old-fashioned model of government-to-government "foreign aid". The goal is to ensure that the U.S. aid produces results and measurable improvements in the lives of people. "New Partnerships" has three main objectives: strengthen the role of nongovernmental organizations in development programs; empower small businesses and entrepreneurs to drive economic growth; and help nations bolster democracy at a local level.

All three are linked by a single idea -- that families and individuals, when given the power and opportunity to change their lives, will do exactly that. One over-arching principle guides these efforts -- putting people first. "The New Partnerships Initiative" extends the Administration's commitment to sustainable development by deepening the intensive involvement of nongovernmental actors in the development process. This initiative will put a special priority on activities that engage and empower women.

- The first component of the initiative will focus on strengthening the role of nongovernmental organizations, both U.S. and indigenous, that are tackling these tremendous challenges. USAID will increase the percentage of its development assistance channeled through these NGOs to an ultimate target of 40% over the next five years. The U.S. will undertake with other donors a Development Partnership Working Group, an international effort that will engage bilateral and multilateral donors and the NGO community. The working group will target ways to strengthen the capacity of the non-governmental sector in the developing world. USAID will also use new communications technologies to further link and empower NGOs around the globe.

- The second component will strengthen the role of small business in partner countries. USAID will work directly with national governments to improve the laws and regulations to provide increased opportunities for entrepreneurial activities for the poor. USAID will increase its training and internship programs between American small businesses and small businesses in development countries. Increase training and internship programs, cooperatively between American small businesses and small businesses in development countries, in order to encourage the adoption and transfer to the developing countries of productive processes, technologies and techniques. Draw on the capacities of U.S. small businesses to advise and enhance the capacity of small businesses in partner countries. Use loan guarantees and credit mechanisms to support small and medium-sized firms in modernizing and improving their contributions to the economy and society.

• The third component of the initiative will encourage the decentralization of political power to local communities in the developing world. USAID will work with partner country government, private sectors and NGOs to expand the authority of local government. This initiative will enhance the ability of U.S. state and local government officials to make valuable contributions to sharing their knowledge and expertise. Strengthening democracy at a community level will frequently entail fundamental reforms in municipal codes to enhance local government fiscal and administrative autonomy.

USAID continues to be one of the lead agencies in the National Performance Review, and the "New Partnerships" initiative is part of the Administration's continuing commitment to do more with less in the federal government.

Japan

(CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY)

STATEMENT

BY

H.E. MR. TOMIICHI MURAYAMA

PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN

WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

COPENHAGEN

11 MARCH 1995

Her Majesty, Queen Margrethe II of Denmark,
Mr. President,
Mr. Secretary-General,
Distinguished Delegates,

It is my great honor to address the World Summit for Social Development on behalf of the Government of Japan. I would like to pay special tribute to the Government of Denmark for hosting this Summit and to everyone involved in the extensive preparations which it has required.

Mr. President,

At the outset I would like to take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Government and people of Japan, our sincere gratitude for the warm sympathy and assistance extended in the wake of the recent earthquake in the Hanshin-Awaji region by numerous governments, international organizations and NGOs all over the world, many of which are represented here today, as well as by individual volunteers. The expressions of friendship that poured in from all over the world have been a source of encouragement, reminding us that, "A friend in need is a friend indeed." In an attempt to respond to that generous support, Japan intends to engage actively in international cooperation efforts for the reduction of natural disasters, sharing the experience it has gained from the recent earthquake. As you are aware, the World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction, convened in Japan last year, adopted the Yokohama Strategy which calls for a strengthening of disaster reduction measures at the

regional level. As a first step in this endeavor, Japan plans to convene at the earliest possible time the Asian Natural Disaster Reduction Conference at the ministerial level and undertake a study, together with the countries concerned, of ways to reinforce disaster reduction measures in the region.

Mr. President,

The world today continues to be plagued by recurrent regional conflicts, and by the poverty and social instability which are often at the background of such conflicts. It is imperative that the international community, primarily through the United Nations, make further constant efforts to resolve these problems. However, now that the pattern of North-South confrontation, as a byproduct of the East-West conflict during the Cold War period, is changing, we have a precious opportunity to deal effectively with such formidable social problems as poverty, unemployment and social disintegration which threaten the well-being of people in developed and developing countries alike. In my view, the World Summit for Social Development, which seizes this opportunity and is convened in this fiftieth anniversary year of the founding of the United Nations, is of historic importance.

Mr. President,

After the Second World War, Japan was reborn as a nation of peace; it has since pursued economic and social development based on democracy and a market economy, and

adhering to the fundamental principles of freedom, equality and justice. As head of the Japanese Government, I seek the creation of a "human-centered society," a vision of Japan in which each individual citizen is treated equally, endowed with opportunity to fully develop his or her potential, and enabled to utilize fully his or her capacity through employment and participation in society. I consider that such political beliefs of mine are in line with the central goal of this Summit — the realization of social justice.

Mr. President,

In promoting social development, I would like to suggest that, in the national policies of every country, the following three areas should be accorded highest priority.

First, in order to achieve social justice, governments should place emphasis on a human-centered approach to social development. In this context, it is necessary to promote worldwide disarmament and, toward that end, each country should strive to allocate a larger share of its national budget for social development programmes.

Second, governments must focus on developing human resources through education and training. I believe it is unnecessary to reiterate the importance of developing the abilities of each individual citizen, including the handicapped and other vulnerable people in society, in the process of nation-building.

Third, social development cannot be achieved by governments alone, but requires the active participation of civil society as a whole, including NGOs. I wish to emphasize, in particular, the significant role that women play in social progress. In order to achieve social justice and development, it is essential to establish a society in which both men and women participate actively and contribute jointly to social progress. As one step toward this end, I have submitted to the Japanese Diet for its approval the International Labour Organization Convention (No. 156), which aims at reconciling work responsibilities of men and women workers with family responsibilities.

Mr. President,

In accordance with these policy objectives, I believe that developed countries, in their endeavor to assist the self-help efforts of developing countries, should give priority to the social development field in allocating their official development assistance. Japan, for its part, will focus on the following three areas.

First, Japan gives priority to human-centered social development. At present, the share of ODA allocated to this area already exceeds twenty percent of the total of Japan's bilateral ODA. This area will continue to be given highest priority in our ODA policy. Furthermore, developed and developing countries, with the involvement of NGOs, should strengthen cooperation in this area. Close

coordination between the United Nations and its specialized agencies, including the ILO, as well as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other international organizations is also necessary.

Second, Japan is resolved to continue placing priority on assistance for education and vocational training. Japan's assistance in this area has more than quadrupled during the last ten years. South-South cooperation is effective in this regard in the sense that knowledge and experience of more advanced developing countries could be utilized for the promotion of social development in other developing countries. It is the intention of my Government to provide as much assistance as possible for the concrete promotion of such cooperation.

Third, Japan places special importance on the role of women in the development of developing countries, particularly in the area of social development. At the International Conference on Population and Development last September, the importance of reproductive health was recognized, and the role of women in addressing the population issue was highlighted. Looking ahead, the Fourth World Conference on Women will be held in Beijing in September. Japan has already been extending its active cooperation for the support of women in developing countries, and intends to further strengthen its assistance in this field.

Mr. President,

The world today is truly a single "global community." As citizens of this globe, we must all work hand in hand to overcome global challenges in such areas as the environment, population, stable food supply, HIV/AIDS, and refugees. Toward this end, the people of the world must gather their forces to realize the objectives of the Declaration and the Programme of Action which this Summit is going to adopt. I reiterate my pledge that Japan, as a member of this global community, will contribute to the best of its ability to this common endeavor.

Thank you.

Speech
by Dr Helmut Kohl,
Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany,
at the World Summit for Social Development
Copenhagen, 11 March 1995

Translation of advance text

Three major objectives have brought us together here in Copenhagen: promotion of employment, the fight against poverty and consolidation of social cohesion in our countries. I chose this order deliberately. For if we succeed in preserving and creating jobs, we will also make progress towards achieving the two other objectives.

Many hopes, including those of the unemployed, are pinned on the upturn in the world economy. However, we all know that we must not sit back and do nothing, particularly at this juncture. We must ask ourselves what we can do together and in our own countries to enable more people to earn their living through their own work. This means, for example, that we must increasingly use the possibilities offered by new technologies for the benefit of the labour market. To this end, the G 7 conference in Brussels two weeks ago argued in favour of opening up telecommunication markets all over the world as quickly as possible.

More than ever, we depend and rely on one another. No one can remain unaffected by what is happening in other regions of the world. We must therefore improve the conditions for free international trade worldwide and integrate the developing countries to a greater degree into the world trading system. The conclusion of the Uruguay Round of GATT and the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) have paved the way.

We have always regarded a system of free world trade as a question of give and take. This is in the interests of all concerned. In the industrialized countries we must provide better market access for goods from the developing countries. How else, if not through trade, can the developing countries earn the foreign exchange to buy the capital goods they urgently need in order to develop efficient economies of their own?

Only where freedom prevails is social progress possible. That is the lesson we in Germany and Europe have learned during the 50 years since the ending of the Second World War. This conviction is one of the tenets of the European Union, on whose behalf I would like to stress here the importance of human rights.

Stable economic and social development is not possible in the long term without respect for human rights and democracy. Recognition of their dignity and freedom is as vital to the existence of all human beings as the air they breathe and their daily bread. There is no justification for denying people their civil and political rights for the sake of economic objectives. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights evokes in its preamble the vision of the

free human being, which includes freedom from "fear and want". This freedom from fear and want comprises both a secure living and civil and political freedom.

History teaches us that competition and social harmony belong to a humane economic and social order. And we also know that high standards in education and training are the best investments in the future. The worldwide abolition of child labour is particularly urgent in this regard. Prohibitions alone are of no use if economic hardship forces people to see things differently. Together with our partners in the developing countries and the International Labour Organization, we will therefore continue the special programme on eliminating child labour which was limited to five years. We would welcome the participation of others in this programme.

Responsible social partners - trade unions and employers - play a key role in a liberal economic order based on social justice. They have considerable influence on social development. Without their cooperation social consensus and social peace are not attainable.

A sound social system has a positive effect on economic growth. Social peace also plays a major role in averting internal conflicts as well as conflicts between countries. Germany is not only one of the largest donors of development aid; during the last few years it has outstripped all other countries by providing, in addition, substantial support for the economic and social development in the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in the successor states of the former Soviet Union.

Although financial aid is important, we must rid ourselves of the misconception that social progress can be bought with money alone. Advice and practical assistance are just as important. During more than 30 years of development cooperation we have all learned that the key to success is help towards self-help. Germany will continue to contribute towards this end in a spirit of trustful cooperation.

PLEASE CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
SPEECH OF THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA
COPENHAGEN, DENMARK, 11TH MARCH, 1995.

Your Majesties,

Mr. Prime Minister,

Distinguished Heads of State and Government,

Mr. Secretary General,

Distinguished Ministers,

Ladies & Gentlemen,

It is an honour and privilege to be present at this historic gathering of world leaders to consider a subject of unparalleled importance to humankind, namely, social development. It is of special importance to be in Denmark, a country which has been a path-finder in conceptualising and articulating progressive thoughts and programmes crucial to genuine social development. I would like to express my gratitude to the people and Government of Denmark for their warm hospitality. May I also convey India's warm appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary General of the United Nations and to his colleagues, especially Ambassador Juan Somavia of Chile, who have worked so hard and so purposefully to organise this unique Summit?

2. Today, the world stands at the cross-roads of history even as it struggles to free itself from the attitudes of the Cold War era. We are at the cross-roads because we know that certain paradigms of development which placed the State alone at the Centre did not succeed. There is now a swing to the other side, namely the

tendency to put an untrammled Market alone at the Centre. While the new enthusiasm sweeps over the countries, one cannot help the uneasy feeling that what is needed really is a certain Market Plus; otherwise, the poor and the weak are likely to suffer exclusion due to the imperfections of the Market. The inadequacy in both these approaches stems from the failure to place the people at the Centre. This centrality of the people is extremely important. We have to empower the people themselves as the central strategy to social and economic development to sustain human progress. That, in my view, is the vision we should adopt today. I am glad that the Draft Declaration and Programme of Action to emerge at this Summit recognise this basic need. The main import is the empowerment of every disadvantaged class and group, in fact of every single disadvantaged person. This is possible only if certain rights fundamental to human development are guaranteed to people, such as the rights to food, work, shelter, education, health and information through national determination and international cooperation. International cooperation is very important for more reasons than one. In the first place, all countries the world over are in need of social development and integration. The dominant causes for discord may be different in different countries, but no society today can claim to be fully developed and integrated. And the whole of humankind is what we are talking about at this Summit, as I understand it. Besides, the emergence of the so-called "cultural fault-lines", even if it is not accepted as the solitary problem facing the world, is increasingly a menacing phenomenon and is truly world-wide. It can and does lead to terrorism, not unoften exported from neighbouring quarters, and spell disruption of peace and development. The core issues of poverty eradication and social integration cannot

be addressed credibly without adequate resources, non-discriminatory access to markets and the availability of technologies that are relevant to these core issues. At the national level, countries have to commit the resources required to realise the rights for the poor in terms of institution building, formulation of policies, designing of strategies and above all, mechanisms of monitoring and evaluation that make implementation sustainable. The rights I have just mentioned are fundamental to development in its broadest sense. They act as a corrective to the distortions of the State and the Market severally and also complement the efforts and achievements of both. It is this harmony that we would seek to develop in the context of the reforms that we have embarked upon presently in our own country, as a means to our goal of eradication of poverty.

3. How do we do this?
4. Our leader Mahatma Gandhi mobilised the masses of our people in our struggle for freedom. He inspired an impoverished nation to win freedom from the world's mightiest empire, by non-violent means. As India struggles towards its second freedom - from want, disease and ignorance, we go back to Mahatma Gandhi and his technique of social mobilisation of the people. Our strategy goes well beyond representative governance and endeavours to bring in more and more people's participation at the grass-roots level. To this end, in the last couple of years, we amended our Constitution to provide for decentralised, participative, village level democratic institutions with statutory representation to the socially disadvantaged groups of our people, with a third of all elective representative posts reserved and earmarked for women. It is our resolve to make the concerns of gender and the rights of

the child, the adolescents and the youth the centre of all our decision-making, including economic decision-making. This is the mutually reinforcing social and economic vision that would inform our development strategies during the rest of this decade and into the next century, side by side with a massive effort to achieve maximum industrialisation and growth in order to make India a modern, competitive and technologically front-rank nation. We do not under-estimate the very real and practical difficulties involved in bringing about this combination. Yet, we have no alternative, nor a better combination to address our massive problems. For the past three and a half years we have embarked on a truly revolutionary reform of our economic and industrial policy. The process is irreversible, with a national consensus backing it. At the same time, those sections of the people who cannot, in the very nature of things, reap the benefits of the policy reform directly and in the short run, would certainly need a helpful, caring and enabling dispensation so as to attain the levels of eligibility and capacity to find entry into the new system on equal terms. This would mean a massive and well-coordinated programme, backed with commensurate resources and other efforts, to lift the huge base of the pyramid to those levels within a reasonable time-frame. The magnitude and complexity of the task in the Indian context, as well as that of many developing countries, can easily be imagined, particularly when it is seen as integral with the reforms process, which it really is.

5. When reforms are undertaken, what really happens is deeper than the mere economic impact of the reforms. The fact is that in poor societies, there is a low-level equilibrium which prevents internal tensions and creates an inter-dependence of sorts, even in that environment of over-all poverty. I am sure those who belong to

developing societies are aware of this situation. It is only when economic development brings in prosperity, along with certain disparities, that the equilibrium tends to get disturbed. When those disparities go beyond the point of toleration, we run into conflicts and strife. Obviously, since we have to end poverty through these very reforms which we have chosen after due deliberation, it follows that the paradigm of our development must necessarily contain an effective component of social justice and harmony, in order to succeed in the long, or even the short, run. I may venture to add here that this need for a modified paradigm applies to developed countries as well.

6. This is the Age of Information. Legitimately, the engines of global information should not be confined to a mere exchange or transfer of information relating to money and business, as is generally the case today. Going far beyond this scope, information must become the instrument of knowledge and wisdom that promote the spiritual oneness of humankind. That is what social integration is about and should be at all levels. However, social integration is not cultural domination or homogenisation. This is where certain effects of globalisation, notwithstanding its obvious merits, should be stoutly resisted, especially by the societies of the developing world, drawing upon their own civilisational strengths. There is no dearth of these in our societies. This is indeed important in the context of material life-styles and consumption levels, whether in the rich countries or in the rich islands within the poor countries. A commitment to self-discipline and restraint in consumption should emerge from this Summit as the first step of cultural and spiritual solidarity in our effort at poverty eradication and social integration. This sentiment has been expressed often in the past, but it has hardly happened anywhere in the world. There is nothing surprising in this, since the attention of the whole world was occupied by wars, hot and

cold, in almost the entire twentieth century. It is only now, at the fag end of the century, that the leaders of the world have begun to think of how to live, rather than how to kill, or escape killing. The new task is truly new and stupendous. COPENHAGEN is only a beginning, and if what men could do for destruction is any indication, what they can also do for a changed Agenda of construction does hold immense hope for humankind. After all, it is the technology of living, that is waiting to be developed for universal adoption in the twenty-first century.

7. What is being referred to as a "Good Society", wherein values are not lop-sided or unduly weighted on the basis of a single factor such as wealth or military strength, needs to emerge in the world. This cannot happen by itself. In my view, it will need a constant effort on the part of leaders of societies, not necessarily confined to leaders of governments. A beginning had to be made somewhere, even in a small way, and I hope that this Summit will initiate serious thinking on this very important aspect of life on this planet. The presence of a large number of Non-governmental Organisations at this Summit is a welcome feature that will help focus attention on the people themselves, rather than their relation with their Governments. Even if final answers are not forthcoming at this Summit, and old attitudes peep through the deliberations, there is no need to be daunted. After all, considering the time taken in perfecting the processes of destruction, I am sure the construction of a new society, which is what our new task amounts to, will take less time and much less strain. It would also contribute to the integrity of our environment, which is at peril today. And that is another story that compels our attention.

8. Our vision for the Summit should go beyond the Summit itself, so as to translate the vision into action. Commitments must be backed by the will to act. As

for India, we intend to set up a suitable and effective mechanism for Social Development at the national level. This would be a Commission. This will be as a first step in the action to achieve tangible results within a time-frame, in all the three core areas addressed by this Summit.

9. Excellencies, we know that poverty and peace are interlinked. Poverty and distress anywhere in the world have the potential to threaten world security. Equity and unity within and among nations are therefore a moral as well as practical imperative. Nowhere would the inter-dependence of nations be put to greater test in the years to come than in the area of poverty eradication and social integration. We therefore need goodwill and cooperation from all sides. I have no doubt that the current generation of world leaders would be found equal to this task as we rise to meet the challenges of the remaining half decade of this century and into the next.

Thank you, Sir.

FULL TEXT FOR DISTRIBUTION

**SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND
THE DIGNITY OF HUMANKIND**

**Speech of H.E. President Fidel V. Ramos
Republic of the Philippines
World Summit for Social Development
Bella Center, Copenhagen, Denmark
March 12, 1995**

INTRODUCTION

YOUR MAJESTIES; EXCELLENCIES:

IN FEBRUARY 1986, THE WORLD WITNESSED IN MY COUNTRY A NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION UNLIKE ANY OTHER. IT SHOWED THE WORLD THAT CHANGE CAN BE ACHIEVED WITH PEACE, AND THAT CHANGE MUST COME FROM THE PEOPLE.

OUR "PEOPLE-POWER" REVOLUTION GAVE CLEAR PROOF THAT THE MOST POTENT FORCE OF ANY SOCIETY, ARE ITS PEOPLE.

BARELY FIVE MONTHS AGO, THE PHILIPPINES PLAYED HOST TO A CONFERENCE OF 54 ASIA-PACIFIC MINISTERS AND HIGH OFFICIALS IN PREPARATION FOR THIS WORLD SUMMIT. THIS CONFERENCE ADOPTED THE MANILA DECLARATION -- A COMMON AGENDA FOR ACTION ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR OUR PART OF THE WORLD, WHERE THREE-FIFTHS OF HUMANITY DWELL.

THE ASIA PACIFIC REGION IS NOW THE WORLD'S FASTEST GROWING REGION. OUR CONCERN, IS TO ENSURE THAT GROWTH ACHIEVES MORE THAN SIMPLY ENRICHING THE TRADITIONAL ELITES.

WE NEED TO DEMOCRATIZE DEVELOPMENT -- TO MAKE ASIA-PACIFIC PROSPERITY TRULY MEANINGFUL, NOT JUST FOR A FEW, BUT FOR THE MANY.

I COME HERE TODAY TO REAFFIRM MY COUNTRY'S AND OUR REGION'S SOLIDARITY WITH THE ENTIRE GLOBAL COMMUNITY, IN RECOGNIZING THAT PEOPLE MUST BE AT THE CENTER OF ALL OUR DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS.

human being

THREE PRIORITIES TO GUIDE OUR ACTIONS

YOUR MAJESTIES; EXCELLENCIES:

I COME TO THIS GATHERING TO SHARE WITH YOU A DEVELOPMENT AGENDA FOR PEACE FOR MY NATION.

IN THIS EFFORT WE PURSUE THE THREE PRIORITIES OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION, JOB CREATION AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION, THE SAME "CORE ISSUES" THIS SUMMIT IS ADDRESSING.

WE SHARE THE BELIEF THAT GOVERNMENT MUST PROVIDE THE POLICY ENVIRONMENT AND BASIC SERVICES WHICH EMPOWER ORDINARY PEOPLE TO PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES AT THE VERY OUTSET.

THE AGENDA THAT WE BRING STRENGTHENS THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN DESIGNING, IMPLEMENTING AND EVALUATING PUBLIC POLICIES. IN SO DOING, WE RECOGNIZE THAT PEOPLE EMPOWERMENT IS THE BEST ASSURANCE OF TRUE DEMOCRACY.

IT IS AN AGENDA WHICH RECOGNIZES EQUALITY OF WOMEN AND MEN, AND ASSURES THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

IT IS AN AGENDA THAT SEEKS TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF WORKERS, ESPECIALLY MIGRANT WORKERS WHO ARE AMONG THE BEST OF MY COUNTRY'S GLOBALLY SHARED RESOURCES.

GLOBALIZATION OF THE ECONOMY HAS BROUGHT DOWN THE BARRIERS NOT ONLY OF TECHNOLOGY AND TRADE BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, OF HUMAN RESOURCES.

I WELCOME WITH GREAT SATISFACTION THE COMMITMENT OF THIS SUMMIT TO THE PROMOTION OF THE GOAL OF FULL EMPLOYMENT AS A BASIC AND URGENT PRIORITY. I FULLY SUPPORT THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE MIGRANT WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES.

POLITICAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC REFORMS

TO ENSURE POLITICAL STABILITY --- A VITAL PREREQUISITE TO SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH --- WE IMMEDIATELY AND PERSISTENTLY PURSUED RECONCILIATION WITH DISSIDENT GROUPS. WE FORGED CLOSER COLLABORATION WITH OUR CONGRESS TO ENSURE THAT CRUCIAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORMS ARE PUT IN PLACE.

WE DEMOCRATIZED OUR ECONOMY BY DISMANTLING MONOPOLIES AND CARTELS INJURIOUS TO THE NATIONAL INTEREST. WE BROUGHT DOWN BARRIERS TO TRADE AND INVESTMENTS THAT PREVENTED OUR PRODUCERS FROM ATTAINING INNATE STRENGTH TO FACE GLOBAL COMPETITION.

OUR FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC AND FISCAL REFORMS ARE NOW PAYING OFF.

- PHILIPPINE GNP INCREASED BY MORE THAN 5% LAST YEAR;
- INFLATION IS DOWN TO 5.1%; AND,
- MORE THAN 700,000 NEW JOBS WERE GENERATED.

PHILIPPINE SOCIAL REFORMS

BUT ALL OF THE POSITIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN OUR COUNTRY WILL BE MEANINGLESS UNLESS THE BENEFITS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH ARE SHARED BY ALL.

IT IS THIS CONCERN WHICH LED US TO DRAW UP A SOCIAL REFORM AGENDA THAT GUARANTEES FOR OUR BASIC SECTORS THEIR MINIMUM BASIC NEEDS -- FOOD, SHELTER, HEALTH, PRODUCTIVE ASSETS AND WORK. IT IS AN AGENDA WE DREW UP TOGETHER WITH BUSINESS AND CIVIL SOCIETY, INCLUDING THE BASIC SECTORS --

OUR FARMERS, FISHERFOLK, URBAN POOR, THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, WOMEN, CHILDREN, YOUTH, PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES.

THESE PROGRAMS WILL ULTIMATELY REMOVE THE ROOTS OF SOCIAL UNREST AND DISSIDENCE IN NATIONAL SOCIETY AND BRING ABOUT SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT.

THROUGH THIS AGENDA, WE SHALL ENSURE THAT PROGRAMS, INCLUDING THOSE INVOLVING STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENTS WILL INCLUDE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT GOALS OF POVERTY ERADICATION, EMPLOYMENT GENERATION, AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION.

OUR WAR ON POVERTY

YOUR MAJESTIES; EXCELLENCIES:

WE REGARD POVERTY AS ANOTHER TYRANNY, OPPRESSING HALF OF ALL OUR POPULATION OF 66 MILLION --- A TYRANNY AGAINST WHICH WE MUST WAGE THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR.

RIGHT NOW, OUR URGENT CONCERN IS TO RAISE OUR 19 POOREST PROVINCES TO A LEVEL OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY CLOSER TO THAT OF THE MORE DEVELOPED ONES. WE DO THIS BY ALLOCATING MORE THAN THEIR NORMAL SHARE OF FUNDS FOR PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE LIKE ROADS AND SCHOOLS. WE ARE ALSO SEEING TO IT THAT THEY HAVE INCREASED ACCESS TO LAND, CREDIT AND TECHNOLOGY. WE INTERVENE VIGOROUSLY AND RESPONSIVELY IN BEHALF OF THE POOR AND THE DISADVANTAGED.

THESE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT INVESTMENTS CONTRADICT THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM --- WHICH TEACHES THAT SCARCE CAPITAL SHOULD BE INVESTED WHERE IT WILL MULTIPLY THE MOST.

BUT WE REGARD THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY NOT SO MUCH LIKE A BUSINESS CORPORATION BUT LIKE A FAMILY: ORGANIZED FOR THE SURVIVAL ---- NOT OF THE FITTEST, BUT OF THE WEAKEST.

SOCIAL EQUITY CANNOT WAIT UNTIL AFTER THE ECONOMIC PIE HAS GROWN MUCH BIGGER. WE CANNOT PURSUE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AT THE EXPENSE OF OUR PEOPLE. HISTORY HAS CONSISTENTLY REMINDED US THAT IF WE DO NOT ADDRESS THE WEAKEST IN OUR SOCIETY, OVER TIME, THEY BECOME ORGANIZED. AND THEY WILL STRIKE BACK. WHEN THEY DO, IT WILL BE WITH VENGEANCE, EXACTING GREATER ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL COST.

PRIORITY AREAS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

YOUR MAJESTIES; EXCELLENCIES:

THIS HISTORIC MEETING AFFORDS US IN BOTH THE DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED WORLD THE OCCASION TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON THE RIGHTS, RESOURCES AND RESPONSIBILITIES, THAT IMPROVING PEOPLES' LIVES ENTAILS.

UNDERPINNING OUR WORK IS THE RECOGNITION THAT ALL NATIONS, ALL PEOPLES HAVE A RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT.

INVESTING IN PEOPLE IS NOT WITHOUT COST. WHILE MUCH OF THE RESOURCES WILL HAVE TO COME FROM OUR OWN NATIONAL BUDGETS, MANY

NATIONS IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD WILL REQUIRE SUPPLEMENTARY RESOURCES FROM THE MORE AFFLUENT AMONG US. THIS INCLUDES REDUCTION OR CANCELLATION OF DEBTS, WHENEVER THEIR SERVICING PREVENTS GOVERNMENTS FROM ADEQUATELY MEETING THEIR PEOPLE'S BASIC NEEDS.

WE SUPPORT AND URGE FOR THE WIDE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 20/20 FORMULA. AND WE CALL ON THE RICH COUNTRIES TO MAKE GOOD ON THEIR STANDING COMMITMENT TO DEVOTE AT LEAST 0.7% OF THEIR GNP TO OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE.

HAVING ASSERTED OUR RIGHTS AND LAID CLAIM TO INCREASED RESOURCES FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, WE MUST ALSO HIGHLIGHT OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO TRANSLATE RHETORIC TO COMMITMENT, SYMPATHY INTO POLICY, AND COMPASSION INTO ACTIONS.

THE MANILA DECLARATION SET FOR ITS 54 SIGNATORIES CLEAR DEADLINES FOR MEETING SOCIAL GOALS AND TARGETS. MEETING THOSE DEADLINES REQUIRES COORDINATED AND COOPERATIVE ACTIONS FROM ALL OF US IN THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY OF NATIONS.

CONCLUSION

YOUR MAJESTIES; EXCELLENCIES:

MANY ISSUES STILL CONTINUE TO DIVIDE US IN THIS SUMMIT. BUT I BELIEVE THERE IS SUFFICIENT CONVERGENCE TO ACHIEVE MEANINGFUL COOPERATION AND PARTNERSHIP AMONG NATIONS AND BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS AND CIVIL SOCIETY. WE MUST WORK TO MAKE THIS CONVERGENCE STRONGER.

AFTER ALL, WE OWE IT TO OUR PEOPLES TO DIMINISH IF NOT ERADICATE THE ROOT CAUSES OF SOCIAL INSTABILITY IN OUR SOCIETY. WE OWE IT TO THEM TO WORK AT THOSE MEASURES THAT WILL BRING ABOUT A JUST AND LASTING PEACE.

OUR PEOPLES ASPIRE FOR A LIFE WHERE THEIR OPTIONS ARE NOT LIMITED TO MERE SURVIVAL. WHERE THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT ARE EXPANDED SO THAT THEY MAY CHOOSE THEIR OWN FUTURE AND CONTROL THEIR OWN DESTINY. THEY DREAM OF SOCIETIES WHERE JUSTICE, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES, THEIR RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT, RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY, AND PROSPERITY REIGN SUPREME.

WE OWE IT TO THEM TO UNDERTAKE MEANINGFUL REFORMS, AND TO UNDERTAKE THEM NOW.

THANK YOU.

12/03/95-05:09-NOR/SOL



MALAYSIA

PLEASE CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY

STATEMENT BY

THE HONOURABLE DATO SERI DR. MAHATHIR BIN MOHAMAD

PRIME MINISTER OF MALAYSIA

AT THE UNITED NATIONS WORLD SUMMIT

FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AT

COPENHAGEN, DENMARK

SATURDAY, 11 MARCH 1995

COPENHAGEN

Mr. President,

On behalf of the Malaysian delegation, I wish to convey our deep appreciation to you and through you the Government and people of Denmark for the warm hospitality and the excellent arrangements made.

2. I also wish to acknowledge the important role played by Ambassador Juan Somavia of Chile.

3. Although the 50 year-old Charter of the United Nations begins with the words "We the peoples of the United Nations ...", this is, arguably, the first time that we meet at this level to discuss the common people and their problems; their social development. That it has taken us 50 years to do this is a measure of our commitment to the lot of the common people and an illustration of the failure of multilateral efforts, derailed for over 5 decades by the ideological battles of the Cold War. That confrontation, usually on someone else's soil, has undermined most of the social action plans of the UN agencies. International development efforts became predicated on the degree of support that developing countries gave to either of the two superpowers. Our regions became cockpits for superpower manipulations and their fields of battle. The developing countries and their people became mere marionettes.

4. The wreckages, the pain suffered and the injustices inflicted, have left many of these countries crippled, incapable of making the necessary adjustments to meet present and future challenges. Afghanistan, Somalia and many others are among the countries that have been pulverised; their infrastructure obliterated, their people in total disarray. The marginalisation process continues even now, despite strides in science and technology.

5. As for the peoples of the world, the vast majority have suffered not only deprivation, but more importantly, loss of human dignity. We are looking at over one billion people caught in a spiral of abject poverty that relegates them permanently to the status of subspecies. The United Nations is faced with an enormous outflow of some 19.7 million international refugees. Admittedly, migration is a nightmare for the developed countries but migrations also cause severe dislocations and drain the developing countries of essential human resources. It does not help that the developed countries discriminatingly welcome the skilled and the educated.

6. Even as the international community takes the first fateful steps into the next millennium, we cannot but be troubled by the emergence of "failed states" in the wake of the break-up and breakdown of nations. The magic of the midnight hour at the moment of independence cannot be sustained. Countries stumble and retrogress and the people's expectations remain largely unfulfilled; paradoxically, at a time of qualitative scientific and technological advances which should have benefitted the needy the most.

7. Even among the developed countries, elements of a failed state can be detected. Contradictions and polarisations have surfaced which reflect possible flaws in the national direction. We see serious poverty, homelessness and joblessness, and rampant crime and drugs in pockets of these societies, even in the most advanced countries. For these countries, lessons too need to be learnt; change and adjustments should apply to them as well, especially those relating to unbridled and unsustainable high incomes and consumption, and the breakdown and decline in the moral values of their society. These countries, supposedly locomotives of world growth and paragons of standards, would

do well to effect these changes instead of seeking to hold the high ground and preach to others.

8. We also see aspects of racism and ethnic challenges in these states. Economic decline, malaise in society have in some cases dried up the humanitarian outlooks of the past. Targets internationally agreed, such as the 0.7 per cent for ODA, reiterated at the Summit in Rio in 1992, have been largely forgotten. There is diminishing tolerance coupled with a rigid insistence on homogeneity with one group and one set of values. There was, for instance, a national convulsion over the wearing of a head scarf in school in Europe recently. The implications are disturbing. The future of humankind must point towards globalism, pluralism and multi-culturalism, not exclusivity of regions and blocs and the superiority of one set of values.

9. We remain utterly helpless as the bestialities in Bosnia and in Rwanda are committed. All of the political will of Europe could not save the thousands sacrificed in Bosnia. Chechnya is a domestic affair. However, Tiananmen is not. All of the machinery of the United Nations could not respond to and prevent the slaughter in Rwanda. Indeed, the first reaction was to retreat from danger to self.

10. Since the end of the Cold War, the international community has arrived at many crossroads and defining moments, but we have fallen short in our collective response almost every time. We move from one major conference to another, pronouncing with lofty intention global action programmes but we have never satisfactorily made available the means of implementation. We seem to grope and to muddle through to give meaning to global interconnectedness but we find ourselves being only rhetorical, never quite able to distinguish between self-interest

and the care and well-being of humankind and the welfare of the planet.

11. In the last few years, the concept of development has changed from one of synthetic economic targets to that of real economic gains, securing human needs and the optimization of the human person at the centre of development. Obviously, the free market and selective human rights alone will not do the job. Unfortunately the failure of Communism and Fabian Socialism has not taught any lesson. Despite the weaknesses of capitalism and the free market, only one western model is permitted. The obvious failures of the so-called locomotives of growth are not acknowledged. At the same time, the successful economies of Asia and Latin America are not regarded as potential locomotives. Instead, the high growth in these areas is regarded as a threat to the industrial North. It seems to be the agreed policy to categorize them and then put impediments in their way.

12. The developing world must not continue to be looked upon as a bottomless pit, meant for wasted western handouts and welfare programmes. The developing world needs to be given its rightful place as much as the composition of the Group of Seven should be regarded as seriously anachronistic. All these require major changes in political perceptions. Also, the United Nations should cease from continuing to be a place to discipline the developing world on the basis of a western model that "one size fits all".

13. At the heart of development lies the issue of governments and society. Certainly, if governments continuously fail to deliver, they should exit. The issue of governance and accountability, renewed by fresh mandates through the democratic process, applies to all, not just the developing countries. Empowerment must take into account the vulnerable groups, women

and minorities that exist in all societies. In this area much progress has been made among the developing world. The days of the demigod leader are largely over.

14. In Southeast Asia where change has been effectively managed, much has been taken stock of. The obvious mistakes of the West will not be repeated. The relevance of Government and a focussed national purpose through a supportive society remains the prerequisite for development. We have left the socialistic concepts of the welfare state for a workdriven, fully participative society.

15. For Malaysia, growth will be tempered with equity and social responsibility. While we try to harness the positive elements of globalisation, where swift movements of capital, technology and markets often outpace governments, we remain committed towards narrowing income and opportunity disparities. I am confident, we shall achieve our targets of qualitative growth and the amelioration of every Malaysian as a composite resource in a matrix of pluralism and multi-culturalism.

16. While in the first 25 years of independence the Malaysian Government has been the major actor in the exercise to restructure society, the private sector has not only been involved in the restructuring process of our society, but has been tasked with the creation of opportunities for economic growth in order to achieve the nation's objective to become an economically developed nation by the year 2020.

17. While we and our neighbours try to make socio-economic progress, we cannot but lament the external impediments which threaten to derail us. We are concerned about pressures and other means by some in the North to erode our limited comparative

advantages, particular labour and natural resources. The North had exploited fully these very same assets in their own countries and in ours when they ruled us. Now they seek to stifle our growth by involving human rights, the social clause and environmental conditionalities. Did they care for these things when they were at our stage of development?

18. I give my commitment, speaking on behalf of my people and country, that Malaysia will support the decisions and programmes of Copenhagen. I hope Copenhagen will not be Rio. It should not merely be remembered for the declaration or the plan of action. Copenhagen should be recalled for being the starting point of a new determination to sincerely put into effect the programme to meet the needs and aspirations of people, the focus of our decision.


Thank you Mr. President.

Prime Minister's Office
Kuala Lumpur

His conference calls the attention of the world to the global problems of poverty, unemployment and social exclusion and to the solutions proposed in the Programme of Action for the Fourth World Conference on Women. It is a landmark in the history of the United Nations and the world community. It is a landmark in the history of the United Nations and the world community. It is a landmark in the history of the United Nations and the world community.

Statement by
Mrs. Gertrude Mongella
Assistant Secretary-General
and
Secretary-General of the
Fourth World Conference on Women:
Action for Equality, Development and Peace
to the
World Summit on Social Development

Copenhagen, Denmark
6-12 March 1995



Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen

It is a pleasure to address you today and to contribute to the work of this historic gathering of Heads of State and Government. I speak to you as Secretary-General of the Fourth World Conference on Women. That is to say, I speak here for half of the world's people and half of its workers, but only a minority -- for now -- of its leaders and political decision-makers.

This conference calls the attention of the world to the global problems of poverty, unemployment and social exclusion and to the solutions proposed in the Summit's Programme of Action. I come before you to highlight women's role in this agenda and to outline women's expectations of this Summit.

The current, historic moment of diminished international tension is a golden opportunity to reexamine our political and economic structures and reshape them so that they foster just, peaceful, prosperous, and democratic societies that benefit all people. We will never attain sustainable development and social justice in the absence of peace and security and respect for human rights. More than that, we will not achieve these goals without fundamental equality between women and men.

The world today is in many ways in critical condition. Some 800 million people are starving, and famine is on the rise. Each day, 34 thousand children die for want of food and medical care. The world is plagued by a pandemic of AIDS, by outbreaks of cholera and malaria. The number of lives diminished by illiteracy, unemployment or underemployment only grows. This is the reality of poverty; these are its self-perpetuating effects. People living below the poverty line now number a staggering 1.3 billion, almost one of every four human beings.

Women are the majority of those who endure the varied forms of this deprivation. Poverty is not only a matter of low income; it is also a lack of access to economic, social and political structures and power. It is a function of inequality at home and bias in the classroom and labour market. Two out of every three illiterate adults are women. As girls, they left school to care for younger siblings and work alongside their mothers. As adults, they lack the resources, credit, and infrastructure to make their labour as productive as possible. Over the past twenty years, while the number of rural men in absolute poverty has increased by a deplorable 30 per cent, the increase among rural women has been a devastating 50 per cent. The situation is exacerbated by the violence of civil war and other armed conflicts. Women and children today constitute 80 per cent of all refugees and displaced persons. In short, in the world of women, there are few, if any, developed nations.

True, during the last two decades, increasing numbers of women have entered the labour force in both industrialized and developing countries. Forty one per cent of the world's women aged fifteen and over are economically active. But women are still concentrated in traditionally "female" occupations -- low-status, low-wage jobs, including part-time and night-shift work, with no security or trade union support. At the same time, women cope with family responsibilities, lack of career development opportunities, and -- in some cases -- legal barriers. The percentage of women executives and managers remains very low. The increase in women's employment, then, has not been matched by a similar improvement in occupational status or income. In 1995, even as we prepare for the Fourth World Conference on Women, women still earn, on average, only 50 to 80 per cent of the pay of their male counterparts.

This imbalance calls for immediate redress. It demands every effort to complement increased female participation in the labour market with qualitative change towards equal opportunities, equal conditions of employment and career development. Incremental gains in women's education, health and employment status are insufficient. Women expect this Social Summit to strive for fundamental changes.

Consider another area: access to productive resources such as capital, technology, natural resources and land. Although many countries legally recognize women's right to own land, this right is rarely translated into reality. Customary norms for inheritance, ownership and control of property prevail in many places, maintaining men's control of land and allowing women access only as workers or helpers within the family. Scant access to resources, meager incomes, lack of collateral, and social and economic subordination -- these factors, in turn, drastically constrain women's access to credit from financial institutions and governmental agencies, thereby perpetuating their poverty.

Women's marginal access to credit illustrates well the role of structural discrimination by gender in reinforcing poverty in general. Women comprise only about 10 per cent of the beneficiaries of rural and urban credit programs. Yet the experiences of varied programs that target poor women have proven women to be both reliable managers of credit and successful entrepreneurs. In 1990, multilateral banks allocated US\$5.8 billion to agricultural and rural development loans -- and women received only 5 per cent of the funds. Yet it is women who grow 70 per cent of the food in the developing world. Imagine how much more productive women would be if a fair distribution of credit let them put away their hand hoes and share a tractor instead.

Indeed, while poverty is seen as having a woman's face, poverty is not a problem of women. Rather, it is a problem for which women are much of the solution. The majority of women in poverty are efficient managers of scarce resources and capable entrepreneurs. Their work -- not only paid but also unpaid and

usually uncounted in national data -- already helps to contain poverty. The women of the world do not ask the world to carry them. What they ask -- no, what they expect -- of this Social Summit is that legal, economic, and cultural barriers be dismantled. "Remove the barriers," women say, "and we will do the rest. Just open the doors, and we will walk through."

Women already exercise exceptional resourcefulness, initiative and diligence. By their toil they would exit poverty if an enabling environment were created through decisive reforms. It is up to you, the elected representatives of the struggling majority as well as the privileged few, to eliminate barriers to women's full participation in social, economic, and political life. It is up to your governments to calculate the huge personal, national, and international costs of inequality -- and to project and make known the returns of equality. It is for you to inspire and monitor the dismantling of the structures of inequality. To do this is to be accountable to the world's women.

As long as social structures prevent women from exiting poverty, their children will not exit poverty, nor will any society outgrow poverty. Until we dismantle gender discrimination, in fact, we will not touch the problem of poverty. Gender inequality perpetuates poverty by suppressing and squandering the potential of half of the population. If we do not find the will to recognize the significant gender dimension of poverty, we risk failing to meet any serious development goals for men or for women. Until we cease to view gender distinctions as a personal, nonpolitical matter or a natural and venerable tradition, we will condemn not only women, but also men, children, and nations to underdevelopment.

Even where biased laws have been repealed, there remains a more subtle form of political and economic marginalization that results from restrictive social conditioning. From the household to the seat of government, parents and makers of policy assign males to roles of authority and public concern; females are relegated to a secondary rank, and their actual and potential contributions to economic life are often ignored.

In this context, there are immediate steps that you as policy makers can take against poverty: Lead the transformation of attitudes so that females will not be disparaged from birth. Promote incentives to keep girls in school and draw women into well compensated occupations. Help women secure the means to balance the reproductive role with their productive roles. Where necessary enact, and everywhere enforce, laws against discrimination in labour and credit markets. Understand that macroeconomic policies are not gender neutral and weigh the impact of policies on women's productivity.

True, women the world over have made great gains in society, securing recognition of their human rights and gaining access to education, health and social services. Almost universally, women have the right to vote, hold office, and represent their countries in the international arena. Yet, where it matters most -- at the levels of decision-making in national and international policy -- women, beyond a token number, are still excluded. It is unacceptable, in a world that touts democracy, that in parliaments outside the Nordic countries, women hold on average only 10 per cent of all seats.

Development requires that women's voices be heard in these bodies. Women must be present when the proliferation of weapons is weighed against the conversion of military resources to development and other peaceful ends. While we parrot the myth of depleted resources, US\$150 per person globally is spent on military expenditures each year. In the least developed countries, this is more than a year's income at minimum wage. Such social and economic policies do not reflect real needs of people, particularly women, at the grassroots level.

Women are not guests on this planet. We are more than 50 per cent of the world's population, and we belong at the table when decisions are made.

This Social Summit gives leaders and governments a unique opportunity to demonstrate commitment and accountability to people who live in poverty, particularly the women. As policy makers and government representatives who have been elected to power by the people -- including women, including many poor women -- please remember that your political imagination and will are as crucial to change as are resources.

The women of the world have great expectations of this Social Summit. The work done here will help to prepare world governments and leaders for the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, September 4-15. The missions of the two conferences are inextricably linked, especially around the burden of poverty on women. Member states of the United Nations, along with non-governmental organizations, will build on the commitments announced in Copenhagen when they go to Beijing to finalize the Platform for Action at the Fourth World Conference on Women. And women will make that Platform for Action the electoral manifesto for the twenty-first century!

Statement by Dr. Wally N'Dow
Secretary-General Habitat II
United Nations Conference on Human Settlements
at the World Summit for Social Development
Copenhagen, Denmark
9 March 1995

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a great privilege and honour for me to appear before this important meeting of distinguished world leaders gathered here to address some of the most critical issues that will carry over from this century to the next. Indeed, what you say and do here will have a profound influence on the course of events for generations to come.

Before I continue, however, I want to add my voice to the many before me -- and I am sure the many that will follow -- in paying tribute to His Excellency Juan Somavia and to Under-Secretary-General Nitin Desai and Under-Secretary-General Ismat Kittani for the uniquely distinctive roles they have played in giving life and meaning to this Conference. They have truly been the catalysts for this World Summit for Social Development, and I congratulate them, as I do all of you.

I also want to say a word about my pleasure in being here in this beautiful city of Copenhagen. There is something poetic about it being the site of a Conference dedicated to helping people the world over lead better, happier lives. For Copenhagen, after all, is the home of Hans Christian Andersen and the fairy tale, the lovely, imaginative stories that enchanted so many of us when we were growing up. Today, however, most children may never hear of Hans Christian Andersen, certainly not in the poverty-stalked villages and hamlets or squalid urban ghettos and shantytowns where more and more of them are now being born. How to change that -- how to bring the magic and beauty of a Hans Christian Andersen and a fulfilling future into their lives -- is our job, and history will judge us by what we do about it.

I need not tell this Conference the scope of its challenge, nor need I repeat the harsh statistics that have contributed to the urgency of the task before you. But I do want to reiterate that unless we take the steps essential to help reduce and ultimately eradicate the grinding poverty that afflicts so much of humanity, unless we start a process that will significantly expand productive employment, unless we move vigorously and decisively to do away with the disaffection that now tears at society, we may well doom the new century to even greater alienation, more social conflict and wider human suffering than anything we have experienced up to now. In a world irrevocably bound up in every aspect of its planetary life -- from the economy to information to the environment -- failure is an outcome we dare not chance.

I speak to you today in my capacity as Secretary-General of Habitat II, the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, that will be held in Istanbul, Turkey in June 1996. And I know I speak for our host country in extending a most cordial invitation to everyone here to join us 16 months from now in what will be both the last of a remarkable

continuum of United Nations Conferences held in the decade of the 90's and, indeed, the last UN Conference of the century.

Put together, these Conferences are providing us with a more holistic, a more humane message about our global problems and about the cooperative solutions they require if we are to succeed in implementing the Agenda for Development that Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has made a priority for the United Nations and that, in essence, is at the heart of what this Conference is trying to accomplish.

It is in Istanbul that the challenges we face in these closing years of the century will, literally, all come home. The actions already adopted in Rio at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, in Vienna at the International Conference on Human Rights, and in Cairo at the International Conference on Population and Development, the decisions that you make here at this World Social Summit, and the ones still to be made in Beijing at the Fourth World Conference on Women -- our aim is to integrate them all with what we finally do in Istanbul at Habitat II. For together they are our road map to the future.

Habitat II is where humanity's interrelationship with nature and the environment, its commitment to Agenda 21 and sustainable development, will be at the centre of attention, where two overriding themes -- adequate shelter for all and sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world -- will set the stage for realizing a central hope of the United Nations Charter: a better life in larger freedom in a world of peace and equity .

Mr. Chairman, the backdrop against which we must view our labours is that of a world unlike any history has ever known. In just another decade, it will be a world in which most of us will, for the first time ever, be living in overcrowded cities and other teeming urban centres, too many with failing infrastructures, too many massive agglomerations of a size never before known, too many with ugly ghettos and sprawling shantytowns packed with more people than the original cities to which they are attached.

By the year 2015 more than half the population of developing countries will be urban, doubling from the 1.7 billion of today to more than 3.5 billion by the year 2020. The rural population of developing countries, meanwhile, will decline as more and more stream to the city finding little employment opportunity or even a place to call home. With land prices soaring, the cost of housing is beyond the reach of most, and the poor are, in every sense of the word, locked out. In short, while the cities of the past were symbols of progress and prosperity, the cities of today are increasingly becoming the living environment of the poor, a process best characterized as the urbanization of poverty.

In saying this, I must caution against any lessening of our concern for all who live in inadequate, unsafe shelter, no matter where: in burgeoning, overcrowded cities or in decaying, economically stagnant rural areas. Whether it is homelessness, life and health threatening housing conditions, a lack of basic services such as piped or potable water, elementary sanitation, or health care -- everywhere, urban or rural, the poor are at risk; everywhere, urban or rural, women suffer the most.

Already more than one billion people are affected, and despite the efforts of national and local governments, the private sector, non-governmental organizations, community-based organizations and international organizations over the last decades, the absolute number of homeless and those living in dwellings unfit for human habitation keeps going up. From what we see in many countries of the developing world, the indication is that the housing supply is not even able to cater to half the annual demand. The irony here is that even as we

seek an end to disaffection, we are laying the foundation for even more. Shelter is much more than a roof over your head -- it is a centrepiece of social stability. Shelter is a human right fundamental to civilization itself.

But the grim forecast is that when the 21st century ends there will be more people compressed into teeming urban areas than are alive on the entire planet today. We cannot wait until then. That would be a serious mistake, one threatening the poor and the homeless more than any other element of society. It is a threat as big as the new urban world order, and unless we act to avert it, it may well trigger a global division between rich and poor, with implications at least as dangerous as any we faced during the Cold War. We have crossed a critical threshold and if left unaddressed, the deteriorating social structure in all too many urban areas can only lead to political paralysis and the abject failure of economic as well as social development.

There are no quick or easy answers to our dilemma. But I would like to suggest that governments may wish to consider intervening decisively to remove some of the constraints that keep the poor poor. And perhaps the first target should be a revisiting of property rights. In the past there have been calls for land reform to improve the lot of the rural poor. Now we need land reform in urban areas as well. And when we consider the masses of people involved, the issue takes on an urgency that will not be denied.

It is here in particular that the eradication of poverty is not only a matter of morals or the avoidance of conflict. It is also a matter of economic logic. The existence of unemployment, underemployment, illiteracy, poor health and social exclusion implies under utilization of productive resources. Nowhere is this more evident than in the human settlements in which the poor live -- the human settlements that, in the final analysis, are the setting for all of our developmental concerns and efforts.

And I know you will forgive me if I take pride here in the unique partnerships that we in Habitat have entered into with cooperating programmes and agencies of the UN system. The rational and sustainable management of urban development is at the centre of a global effort in which Habitat, the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank provide municipal governments in all the developing regions with the expertise they need to meet many of their critical problems. In addition, the World Bank and Habitat have joined forces in setting up a programme of urban indicators as a diagnostic tool for their housing and urban development policies.

In much the same manner, we are working with the International Labour Organization, United Nations Volunteers and UNDP in an innovative Urban Poverty Partnership Programme in which we seek to provide policymakers practical solutions to employment creation and poverty eradication. I also take pleasure in announcing a new publication, "Shelter Provision and Employment Generation" that ILO and Habitat are launching here as a major contribution to the World Social Summit. We hope it will help illuminate your discussion -- and decisions.

Mr. Chairman, we stand on the brink of a world as radically changed as that which confronted the framers of the U.N. Charter when they met in San Francisco in the waning days of the Second World War. Our task at this Conference is to make sure that the United Nations, as it celebrates its fiftieth birthday, remains adequate to the task of confronting the rising threats to human security, real security, that face the world today.

It is this same human security that motivates us as we prepare for Habitat II. And if we are to achieve it, we can no longer just talk about deteriorating cities and decaying rural

areas, we have to act. If all we will do at Habitat II is decry the situation, we may as well not go to Istanbul. The job confronting us -- even as the job confronting this Social Summit -- cannot be done by cursing the darkness, or by telling the world what it already knows about the terrible crises confronting it.. The UN is sponsoring Habitat II -- even as it is sponsoring this Social Summit -- to find solutions in a global marketplace of shared ideas.

This sharing of information, together with the building of partnerships between the public and private sectors and the community, is the moving force behind what we envisage as a Global Data Bank of Best Practices to which central and local governments, as well as the corporate and community sectors, can draw on as they search for new ideas, new forms of cooperation and workable solutions to the problems that confront them. And I hereby invite all governments, all municipalities, all communities to join with us in setting up this Data Bank. It will succeed only to the extent that you contribute to it.

I want to close by telling you that the problems we face are critical, but they are not insurmountable. Hard, yes. Impossible to solve, no. The reconceptualization of the global agenda that is called for by the impact of a global urban civilization, however, is not a task that can be completed by Habitat alone. We will -- we must -- draw on the efforts of those such as yourselves, who, although perhaps starting from different perspectives, engage many of the same issues and offer valuable insight as well as program and policy innovations for us to consider if we are to successfully address all the dimensions of this issue, if we are to live together in our neighbourhoods -- in megacity or tiny hamlet -- in human solidarity.

The United Nations Conference on Human Settlements is just 16 months away. As we start down the road leading to it -- the road that began in Rio -- we must begin the journey in our own cities, the same cities, towns, townships, and hamlets where our journey will end. On the way, all our individual lives will be touched in one way or another. For together these settlements are the sources of civilization, propelling not just our economic development, but our social interaction and cultural attainments, the very humanity that helps give meaning and hope to life itself.

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, this not a North-South issue. It is in the interest of every nation, no matter where in the world, rich or poor, to see to it that our human habitats -- from the smallest to the largest -- are made safe and liveable. That is the only way we will be able to pass on to our children an urban world that can sustain them in harmony, an urban world rid of the shameful poverty, the inequality, the discrimination that still pervades its ghettos, an urban world at peace with the environment and with itself.

This is our collective challenge.